

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 IOE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

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P R 020948Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2034

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

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AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 TOKYO 13285

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, JS

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: JAPANESE VIEWS OF COLOMBO NAC

REF: STATE 204517

SUMMARY: FONOFF IS IMPRESSED BY EVIDENCE AT NAC OF NON-ALIGNED SOLIDARITY ON ECONOMIC MATTERS AND ABSENCE OF CONSENSUS ON A NUMBER OF KEY POLITICAL ISSUES. IT JUDGES THAT NON-ALIGNED, WITH "COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE" AS RALLYING CRY, PROBABLY NOW IN POSITION TO PRESS ADVANCED COUNTRIES VIGOROUSLY ON NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES IN CIEC AND OTHER FORA. ON POLITICAL ISSUES, FONOFF NOTES IN CONTRAST, BLOCS AND REGIONAL GROUPS HAVE CLEARLY SURFACED

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WITHIN NAM, AND IT JUDGES THAT NAM MEMBERS WILL BE EVER MORE RELUC-

TANT TO SUBORDINATE INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS FOR SAKE OF CONSENSUS.
FONOFF SEES SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN STATES AS PARTICULARLY DIS-
SATISFIED WITH NAC HANDLING OF POLITICAL QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED COLOMBO NAC SUMMIT WITH DIRECTOR HANABUSA OF
MOFA ANALYSIS DIVISION ON AUGUST 27. AT GLOSE OF MEETING, EMBOFF
SAID HE HOPED SOON TO BE ABLE TO PROVIDE INR ANALYSIS TO FONOFF,
WHEREUPON HANABUSA GAVE EMBOFF FONOFF ANALYSIS DATED AUGUST 26.
DOCUMENT, WITH CLASSIFICATION EQUIVALENT TO USG CONFIDENTIAL, IS
INCORPORATED IN ABRIDGED EMBASSY TRANSLATION, AS PARA 6. HANABUSA
ASKED THAT IT NOT BE CIRCULATED OUTSIDE USG.

2. COMPARED WITH LIMA NAM FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE LAST SUMMER,
HANABUSA SAID, COLOMBO NAC WAS MORE CONTENTIOUS ON POLITICAL QUES-
TIONS AND MARKED BY THE EMERGENCE OF A RATHER COHERENT "MODERATE
BLOC," WHICH FOR VARIOUS REASONS IS DISSATISFIED WITH POSITIONS
ADOPTED AT COLOMBO. SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIANS, JAPANESE BELIEVE,
ARE PARTICULARLY UPSET: INDIA AND SRI LANKA OVER THEIR INABILITY TO
STEM THE RADICALIZATION OF THE POLITICAL DRAFT DECLARATION, THE
PHILIPPINES BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT ADMITTED TO MEMBERSHIP, INDONESIA
BECAUSE OF THE INCLUSION OF A TIMOR PLANK, AND MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE
BECAUSE THE SOUTHEAST ASIA ZONE-OF-PEACE PLANK WAS BLOCKED BY VIET-
NAM AND LAOS.

3. HANABUSA SAID HE WAS STRUCK BY THE DECLINE OF EGYPTIAN AND ALGE-
RIAN INFLUENCE AND, CONVERSELY, THAT CUBAN PRESTIGE WAS APPARENTLY
IN NO WAY REDUCED BY CUBA'S ANGOLA INVOLVEMENT.

4. THE NORTH KOREANS, HANABUSA OBSERVED, PUSHED THEIR LUCK AT
COLOMBO. HE SAID THE FONOFF IS SURPRISED AND PLEASED THAT NEARLY
TWENTY STATES HAVE REPORTEDLY ENTERED FORMAL RESERVATIONS. THE FON-
OFF READS THIS AS A GOOD OMEN FOR THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE 31ST
UNGA. NONETHELESS, HANABUSA CAUTIONED, IT IS STILL A LONG WAY TO
NOVEMBER. PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN KOREA VOTES THEN,
HE MUSED, WILL BE G-77 JUDGMENT THAT DCS ARE, OR ARE NOT, SHOW-
ING GOOD FAITH IN CIEC DIALOGUE.

5. HANABUSA SAID THAT FONOFF JUDGES THAT IMPACT OF NAC ON ECON-
OMIC QUESTIONS IS LIKELY TO BE MORE SUBSTANTIAL THAN ON POLITICAL
ONES, BECAUSE COLOMBO ECONOMIC CONSENSUS IS "MORE REAL." THE
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FOREIGN OFFICE, HE SAID, WILL BE CLOSELY WATCHING THE "CONFERENCE
ON MUTUAL SELF-RELIANCE AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES," TO TAKE PLACE
THIS MONTH IN MEXICO. REGARDING THE COMMON FUND, HANABUSA SAID
THAT THE FONOFF DOUBTS THAT OPEC WILL COME UP WITH THE CASH NEEDED
TO GET IT OFF THE GROUND. HENCE THE FONOFF SEES THE NON-ALIGNED'S
MARCH 1977 "DEADLINE" FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE DC RESPONSE AS MOSTLY
BLUFF. NONETHELESS, HE EMPHASIZED, THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT
LDC IDEOLOGICAL SOLIDARITY IS REAL ON THIS MATTER, AND A WESTERN

FAILURE TO RESPOND WILL VALIDATE THE ARGUMENTS OF THE CONFRONTATION-ORIENTED STATES AT COLOMBO.

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FM AMMBASY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2035

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT

6. FOLLOWING IS ABRIDGED TRANSLATION OF FONOFF ANALYSIS ENTITLED "THE 5TH NON-ALIGNED NATIONS' SUMMIT CONFERENCE."

A. SIGNIFICANCE. THE COLOMBO SUMMIT WAS THE LARGEST NAC YET, WITH 85 NATIONS REPRESENTED, MORE THAN HALF BY CHIEFS OF STATE OR PRIME MINISTERS. THIS CLEARLY SHOWS THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE THIRD WORLD ATTACHES TO THE CONFERENCE. NOTING ALSO THAT THE QUESTIONS TAKEN UP HAVE DIRECT AND CLOSE BEARING ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS, WE CAN JUDGE THAT THE NAM IS COMING TO ACQUIRE REAL INFLUENCE. DESPITE OCCASIONAL SHARP DIFFERENCES AT THE NAC.

THE FINAL DECLARATIONS AND STATEMENTS OF VARIOUS REPRESENTATIVES
RECONFIRMED THAT THE NON-ALIGNED WILL SEEK TO KEEP IN STEP IN THEIR
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APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. IN PARTICULAR, FOLLOWING ON THE
G-77'S CALL FOR LDC ECONOMIC COOPERATION AT THE MANILA CONFERENCE
AND AT UNCTAD IV, THE BASIC POLICY LINE OF "COLLECTIVE SELF-RELI-
ANCE" EMPHASIZED AT THE NAC WILL LIKELY EXERT CONSIDERABLE INFLU-
ENCE ON THE LDC ECONOMIC COOPERATION CONFERENCE IN MEXICO THIS EP-
EMBER AND ON THE CIEC.

B. GENERAL TENDENCIES. THE SRI LANKAN DRAFTS (REFLECTING ALSO
THE ATTITUDE OF VETERAN NON-ALIGNED NATIONS SUCH AS INDIA AND YUGO-
SLAVIA) WERE COMPARATIVELY MODERATE AND WELL-BALANCED, ATTACHING
IMPORTANCE TO DIALOGUE AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH THE ADVANCED
NATIONS. THEY UNDERScoreD THE IMPORTANCE OF NAM SOLIDARITY
IN PURSUIT OF A FAIR AND JUST INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, AND
EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF "COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE" AS THE KEY
TO LDC ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER, THE RADICAL FACTION (E.G.,
BLACK AFRICANS, INDOCHINA COUNTRIES, NORTH KOREA, CUBA), ASSERTING
THAT THE SRI LANKAN DRAFTS WERE TOO LUKEWARM, MOUNTED A POWERFUL
COUNTERATTACK. CONFRONTATION APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY
SHARP IN THE POLITICAL FIELD. THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE NAC WAS
AMENDED TO INCLUDE THE DEMANDS AND ASSERTIONS OF THE RADICALS,
GIVING IT A MORE CONFRONTATIONAL TONE IN MANY RESPECTS. PARTICU-
LARLY REGARDING THE KOREAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEMS. THE RADICALS
WERE CHECKED, HOWEVER, WITH REGARD TO EXPULSION OF ISREAL FROM THE
UN AND PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE.

C. INTERNAL DYNAMICS. AS IN THE PAST, THE RADICAL FACTION DOMI-
NATED THE COLOMBO NAC. THIS TIME, HOWEVER, ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS
THE MODERATE FACTION EXPRESSED OBJECTIVES, PUSHED ITS OWN POSITIONS,
AND IN THE END, MADE RESERVATIONS. THIS PHENOMENON DESERVES STUDY.
IT INDICATES THAT WITHIN THE MOVEMENT, DUE TO THE INCREASE IN THE
NUMBER OF MEMBERS, AND COMPLEXITY AND INCREASING DIVERSITY OF THE
THIRD WORLD, THE ATTAINMENT OF CONSENSUS IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY
DIFFICULT AND THE VERY DEFINITION OF NON-ALIGNMENT IS OPEN TO
QUESTION. THE INCLUSION OF THREE SEPARATE APPEALS FOR SOLIDARITY IN
THE POLITICAL DECLARATION, AND FOR CONSIDERATION FO THE SPECIAL
PROBLEMS OF THE MSAC, LLDC, LANDLOCKED AND ISLAND COUNTRIES IN THE
ECONOMIC DECLARATION, SUGGESTS THAT THE NON-ALIGNED THEMSELVES
ARE WORRIED ABOUT EMERGENT SPLITS.

D. CONSPICUOUSLY DIVISIVE FACTORS AT THE NAC INCLUDED:

--A TENDENCY TO FORM BLOCS AND REGIONAL GROUPS. THE AFRICANS
PRESENTED, FOR EXAMPLE, A SOLID FRONT ON THE ISSUE OF ALLOCATING
NACC SEATS BY REGION, AND SOLID ISLAMIC BLOC URGED THE ADMISSION
OF PAKISTAN AND THE MALDIVES.

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--AS SEEN ABOVE (SUB-PARA B), FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES OVER THE DIRECTION TO BE TAKEN BY THE NAM BETWEEN THE OLDER NON-ALIGNED, SUCH AS INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND EGYPT, AND THE NEWER PARTICIPANTS, SUCH AS THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES, THE INDOCHINA COUNTRIES AND NORTH KOREA.

--THE OPEN AIRING OF DISPUTES BETWEEN VARIOUS NON-ALIGNED STATES, SUCH AS THE INDOCHINA-ASEAN CONFRONTATION OVER THE SOUTHEAST ASIA ZONE OF PEACE, THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDONESIA AND THE RADICALS OVER EAST TIMOR, BANGLADESH'S CRITICISM OF "A NON-ALIGNED BIG POWER" (INDIA) OVER THE FARAKKA BARRAGE, AND LIBYA'S CRITICISM OF NATIONS "SERVING AS THE AGENTS OF COLONIALISTS AND IMPERIALISTS" (EGYPT) WITHIN THE NAM.

E. TREATMENT OF KEY ISSUES. WITH THE CAVEAT THAT OUR INFORMATION IS NOW ONLY PARTIAL, WE MAKE THE FOLLOWING JUDGMENTS ON THE BASIS OF AVAILABLE REPORTS:

--KOREAN PROBLEM. THE COMPARATIVELY MODERATE SRI LANKAN DRAFT ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO DIALOGUE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA WHILE REPEATING HITHERTO-STANDARD NAM POSITIONS. THE DPRK, DISSATISFIED, ADVANCED A HARD-LINE RESOLUTION. IN RESPONSE, FIVE MODERATES ATTRACTED ATTENTION BY PROPOSING LANGUAGE EVEN MORE MODERATE THAN SRI LANKA'S. THE DELIBERATIONS APPEAR TO HAVE BECOME RATHER CONFUSED, AND FINALLY, PARTLY DUE TO THE PRESS ON TIME, THE NORTH KOREAN PROPOSALS WERE ADOPTED WITH CERTAIN AMENDMENTS. IT APPEARS, HOWEVER, THAT A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF NATIONS (REPORTEDLY 19) INCLUDING INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, INDIA, SRI LANKA, SAUDI ARABIA, ZAIRE, KENYA AND PERU, ATTACHED RESERVATIONS. UNQUOTE.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 IOE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2036

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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--SOUTHEAST ASIA ZONE OF PEACE. A REFERENCE TO THE KUALA LUMPUR DECLARATION APPEARED IN THE LAST NAC POLITICAL DECLARATION (ALGIERS) AND THE SRI LANKAN DRAFT. THE INDOCHINA STATES OPPOSED THIS STIFFLY, DESPITE THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT INDONESIA, MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE ATTACHED TO IT. IN THE END, IT WAS DELETED FROM THE COLOMBO POLITICAL DECLARATION, ON THE JUDGMENT THAT A CONSENSUS COULD NOT BE REACHED BEFORE TIME RAN OUT.

--INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE. WORRIED THAT AS SOUTHEAST ASIA SETTLES DOWN, SOUTH ASIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN MAY BECOME AN ARENA OF BIG POWER RIVALRY, THE NAC IN ITS FINAL DECLARATION EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR AN INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE. SRI LANKA IN PARTICULAR ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO THIS ITEM. ALTHOUGH THE US DIEGO GARCIA BASE IS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED, THE SECTION OPPOSES THE MILITARY PRE-CONFIDENTIAL

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SENCE OF ALL BIG POWERS, AND THE ASSETIONS ARE BALANCED.

--EAST TIMOR PROBLEM. THIS WAS NOT IN SRI LANKA'S DRAFT. BLACK AFRICAN STATES, LED BY MOZAMBIQUE, AND THE INDOCHINA STATES, INSISTED ON ITS INCLUSION. OVERRIDING INDONESIA'S STRONG OBJECTIONS, THE ITME WAS INCLUDED, BUT IT APPEARS THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF NATIONS MADE RESERVATIONS.

--THE MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINE PROBLEM. SRI LANKA'S DRAFT CRITICISM OF ISRAEL WAS TONED UP. MOREOVER, THE ARAB GROUP PRESENTED A SEPARATE DRAFT RESOLUTION CALLING FOR ISRAEL'S EXPULSION FROM THE UN, ETC. WHAT WILL COME OF THE LATTER IS NOT YET CLEAR.

--SOURTH AFRICAN PROBLEM. THE FINAL DOCUMENT'S CALL ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO EMBARGO WEAPONS EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA, AND ON UN MEMBERS TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON FRANCE AND ISRAEL, WAS NOT IN SRI LANKA'S DRAFT. IT REFLECTS THE ASSERTIONS OF THE RADICAL AFRICAN STATES.

--AS MAY BE SEEN, MANY OF THE POLITICAL QUESTIONS RELATED TO VITAL INTERESTS OF NAM MEMBERS, AND THE DELIBERATIONS WERE OFTEN TURBULENT. IN CONTRAST, ON ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND INTERESTS AND POSITIONS OF THE NAM STATES WERE CLOSELY ALIGNED, AND THOUGH THE SRI LANKAN DRAFT WAS MUCH AMENDED, DELIBERATIONS PROCEEDED COMPARATIVELY SMOOTHLY. SRI LANKA'S PHRASES WERE TONED UP SOMEWHAT,

AND BASICALLY THE ECONOMIC DECLARATION RECONFIRMED THE POSITIONS TAKEN AT THE LIMA CONFERENCE OF NAM FOREIGN MINISTERS LAST YEAR. IT LAID SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED AND LDC'S IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THEIR HAND IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE ADVANCED NATIONS. IT STRESSED THE PROMOTION OF CONCRETE PLANS FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION, SUCH AS PRODUCERS' CARTELS AND THE COMMON FUND FOR BUFFER STOCKS. INASMUCH AS NAM SOLIDARITY WAS CONSIDERABLY GREATER ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, WE JUDGE THAT THE NAM WILL TEND TO STRESS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS EVEN MORE IN THE FUTURE.

F. ORGANIZATION OF THE NAC. INDIA AND OTHERS CALLED FOR THE STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE CONCEPT THAT NON-ALIGNMENT PRECLUDES ANY ADHERENCE TO MULTILATERAL MILITARY ALLIANCES WITH THE BIG POWERS. YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHERS, IN OPPOSITION, HELD THAT THE STANDARDS FOR PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE FLEXIBLY INTERPRETED IN KEEPING WITH THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. IN THE END, IN A SO-CALLED COMPROMISE, ROMANIA AND THE PHILIPPINES WERE ALLOWED TO ATTEND AS GUESTS. BECAUSE THIS STATUS HAD ALREADY BEEN RECOGNIZED LAST YEAR AT LIME, AND BECAUSE THE POLITICAL DECLARATION STRESSES THE NEED FOR "CONSTANT VIGILANCE TO PRESERVE THE BASIC NATURE OF NON-ALIGNMENT,"
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WE JUDGE THAT THE INDIAN LINE WAS THE NAC MAINSTREAM.

G. ALSO NOTEWORTHY WAS THE ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EXPANDED NACC. THE AFRICAN DEMAND FOR AT LEAST ONE-HALF THE SEATS WAS OPPOSED, AND IN THE END THEY GOT 12 OF 25. DESPITE SUPPORT BY YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA AND OTHERS, EGYPT WAS ISOLATED BY THE MANEUVERS OF ALGERIA, LIBYA, SYRIA, AND IRAQ, AND FAILED TO GAIN A SEAT. NORTH KOREA ALSO TRIED TO WIN A SEAT, BUT WAS UNABLE TO SECURE MAJORITY ASIAN SUPPORT, AND THUS FAILED.
SHOEMSITH

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